

SOCIALISM
Is the public ownership and democratic operation of all utilities, services and enterprises that are public in their nature.

MURRAY E. KING, Managing Editor

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Socialist Party Makes Clean Sweep in Reading

New York Socialist Vote Takes Big Jump

Bury Old Parties by Pluralities of Nearly 5,000—Elect All Candidates

The Workers of Reading, Pa., a city of more than 100,000 inhabitants, have taken their local government into their own hands.

By a vote almost 5,000 greater than the highest vote cast for the capitalist candidates the Socialists and trade unionists of Reading elected the following: J. Henry Stump, Mayor; James H. Maurer, George W. Snyder, members of the city council; William C. Hoover, city treasurer; Walter R. Hollinger, city controller; Raymond S. Hofses and George D. Snyder, members of the school board.

A Landslide
The Socialist and labor vote was a landslide. Every ward was carried by the Socialists. The only Socialist city-wide candidate to suffer defeat was A. J. Freeman, candidate for school director, who was nosed out by Andrew J. Fink, Republican. A large number of precinct and ward officers, including a constable in the Sixth ward were won by the Socialists.

The Results
The following table gives the vote of the Socialist, Republican, and Democratic parties on the city-wide candidates:

	MAYOR
Stump (S.)	12,146
Stauffer (R.)	7,199
Sharmar (D.)	5,254
Stump's plurality over Stauffer	4,947
Stump's plurality over Sharmar	6,892

	CITY COUNCIL
Maurer (S.)	11,912
Snyder (S.)	11,717
Wetherhold (R.)	7,374
Ruth (R.)	6,981
Witman (D.)	4,970
Schofer (D.)	4,878
Maurer's plurality over Wetherhold	4,538
Snyder's plurality over Ruth	4,736

	CITY TREASURER
Hoover (S.)	8,395
Kershner (D.)	8,272
Reider (R.)	7,930
Hoover's plurality over Kershner	123
Hoover's plurality over Reider	459

	CITY CONTROLLER
Hollinger (S.)	9,308
Menges (D.)	7,428
Doward (R.)	7,451
Hollinger's plurality over Menges	1,870
Hollinger's plurality over Doward	1,857

	SCHOOL BOARD
Hofses (S.)	11,898
Fink (R.)	10,559
Snyder (S.)	10,148
Freeman (S.)	8,961
High (R.)	6,654
Deninger (D.)	5,967
Haines (R.)	5,929
Hines (D.)	5,711
Hoerner (D.)	5,349
Hofses' plurality over Freeman	2,937
Fink's plurality over Freeman	1,508
Snyder's plurality over Freeman	1,182

Have Complete Possession

The victory leaves the Socialists in complete possession of the city government of Reading. This is the first American city of importance where Socialists have won complete power. Milwaukee has had Socialist mayors for years, but never a majority of the city council.

Labor Great Factor

Among the factors contributing to this splendid result were the united and loyal support of organized labor in Reading. Practically all the unions endorsed the Socialist candidates and worked hard for their election. Mayor-elect Stump is the vice-president of the Reading Trades and Labor Assembly; Councilman-elect, James H. Maurer is president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. William C. Hoover, elected city treasurer, and Walter C. Hollinger, who was elected city controller, are members of the cigar-makers union. Raymond S. Hofses, of the incoming school board, is the Socialist who will get busy.

WHAT SOCIALISTS ARE AFTER

Full opportunity for full development is the unalienable right of all.

WE DEMAND.

The earth for all the people.

The machinery of production and distribution for all the people.

The collective ownership and control of industry and its democratic management in the interest of all the people.

The elimination of rent, interest, and profit, and the production of wealth to satisfy the wants of all the people.

Cooperative industry in which all shall work together in harmony as the basis of a new social order, a higher civilization, a real republic.

The end of class struggles and class rule, of master and slave, of ignorance and vice, of poverty and shame, of cruelty and crime—the birth of freedom, the dawn of brotherhood, the beginning of MAN.

This is Socialism.

WE MUST MAKE GOOD

BY J. HENRY STUMP
(Socialist Mayor-Elect, Reading, Pa.)

Reading has set a new standard in municipal politics. With the election of three out of five legislative officials, it is the first city in the nation to be completely governed by Socialists, and the eyes of the nation are centered upon us.

To the Socialists of Reading and to all independent-minded voters who helped to elect us, and on behalf of my colleagues and the members of the Socialist party, I renew the pledge of service given before election day.

WE WILL MAKE GOOD!

We realize that the task to which the people of this city have set us is not an easy one. We have been placed in charge of local affairs after the administrations which preceded us succeeded in accumulating a city and school debt of \$10,000,000. We are faced with the task of adjusting an assessment which has aroused more resentment among the rank and file of our fellow citizens than any other public event in the history of our city. We will be compelled to complete unpopular plans and programs which have been started by our predecessors. We will be called upon to take action for the convenience and health of the people.

We are elated by our magnificent victory. We are sobered by the responsibilities which confront us. But we will make good because we will give our full time and all our energy and intelligence to the one task of giving service to the plain people who assigned us to the important offices we soon will fill.

We are the servants of the people of Reading, not their masters. For that reason we appeal to every man and woman within the confines of our city for their unstinted co-operation and support. As public officials we will be conducting YOUR business, not our own, and we will conduct it honestly and in the open. Everything we undertake will be done with the one purpose of advancing the interests of the plain people. We will not move quickly and heedlessly in anything, but we will strive to act intelligently and with certainty in all that we do. We have been honored with the confidence of our fellow citizens of all political faiths and we are ambitious to show that their confidence has not been misplaced.

But there is another reason, and a selfish one, why WE WILL WORK TO MAKE GOOD. It is this: Every Socialist in America will be depending upon us to make good, because our success will add prestige to the Socialist movement everywhere. For that reason I appeal to every Socialist in particular to continue to support us in office as they have done in party work.

WE MUST MAKE GOOD! We, who have been elected to conduct the business of our city are the pioneers of working class political independence everywhere. No effort will be too severe, no task will be too exacting, no sacrifice of personal comforts and conveniences will be too great to prove to the world that workers in office can serve their fellow citizens efficiently and that Socialists can faithfully and ably use political power in such a manner that the greatest good will be secured for the greatest number.

75,000 Citizens of Buffalo Vote for Avowed Socialist

Average Socialist Gain for Other Candidates in 1,500 over Preceding Election

BUFFALO.—Frank C. Perkins, Socialist, has been elected President of the City Council by a vote of 74,847. His opponent, Daniel J. Sweeney, Democrat, received a vote of 51,301. The Socialist vote for other offices is much smaller, the average being 8,142, but this is a gain of 1,500 votes over that received by Socialist candidates last year.

What is significant regarding the vote for Perkins is that anti-Socialist prejudice has existed for little in the election. The candidates do not appear under party designations but the enemies of Perkins gave wide publicity to the Socialist affiliations of Perkins while he frankly accepted his Socialist views on every occasion in the election, as he has in others.

Moreover, the Socialists brought the Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, Daniel W. Hoan, to Buffalo, for a number of meetings and Hoan urged support of Perkins as a Socialist candidate.

An amusing phase of the campaign is the fact that the Republicans approved the candidacy of Perkins, possibly in the hope of weaning him from his Socialist affiliations. When it became apparent that Perkins had received none of his Socialist views leading Republicans organized a fight against him. His vote therefore was obtained in spite of a two-party opposition and this adds to the striking character of his victory.

The return of Perkins to office means possession of a power only second to that of the office of Mayor. Perkins is an electrical engineer and inventor and holds memberhip in American, European and international technical societies. He has perfected a number of electrical appliances and electro-chemical processes for which he has been granted patents. Some fifteen years ago Perkins joined the Socialist Party in Buffalo.

Reading Socialists Hit Spoils System

READING, PA.—Mayor-elect Stump in a statement to the public declares that politics will not be considered and only real merit will count in appointments to public office by the incoming Socialist administration.

This statement is made by the incoming mayor of Reading in view of the custom prevailing in politics to make a clear sweep of public offices

of the opposite political faith on the theory that "to the victor belong the spoils."

Mr. Stump makes the statement that no one will be removed from office because of his or her politics and that in making new appointments the Socialist administration will give those the preference who are best suited to fill the offices.

The Tax Issue

Another factor that contributed to victory was the rank injustice of the city assessment system which placed the burden of the taxes on the poor and lightened it for the rich. This was made a special issue of the campaign by the Socialist and Labor forces and won many votes to the Socialist candidates.

Victory Significant

The victory is especially significant in view of the present labor-political situation in Pennsylvania. The smash against the Miners' union by injunction judges and company thugs and terrorists has caused the A. F. of L. to call a special political conference of Pennsylvania labor. Thousands of trade unionists in Pennsylvania are now ripe for independent political action.

The Socialist victory has demonstrated that the Socialists can come back. In the campaign just before the election the street meetings were as good as in the best days of Socialism before the war. The interest in Socialism was widespread and intense among the workers. America can have many Readings if the Socialists will get busy.

"Well, we Socialists cleaned up in Reading yesterday in fine style. Elected the following comrades: Stump, mayor; myself and Snyder city commissioners; Snyder, Stump and I being a majority in a body of five will control city council. Democrats and one Republican hold over for two years. We three Socialists elected for a term of four years, will therefore, control the city council.

"Comrade Hoover was elected city treasurer; Comrade Hollinger, city controller. We also elected three school controllers and about seventy-five ward officers.

"The best part of this story is still to be told and that is that Stump, Snyder and myself were elected by an actual majority over our Republican and Democrat opponents. And this happened yesterday where in 1919 they wanted to tar and feather us, burn us at the stake or deport us. Three of those we defeated were at that time one hundred per centers and in the mob anxious to get us. The world do move after all."

The subject of Maurer's address at Temple Hall on the afternoon of December 18 will be, "What I Saw in Soviet Russia." Admission will be 25 cents and any surplus accruing from the meeting will go to help the Socialist Party. Party members are invited to help make this meeting a big success by boosting it and selling tickets.

The best way to close the Debs Memorial period is to buy a Debs Memorial Voluntary Assessment stamp.

Have you a Debs Memorial Voluntary Assessment Stamp in your book?

Reading Victory Shows Upward Trend of Socialism, Says Berger

"There can be no doubt about the upward trend of the Socialist party," Congressman Victor L. Berger, national chairman of the Socialist party, commented on the Socialist victory in Reading.

"During the war and after, our party was caught between the upper millstone of capitalist governmental oppression and the lower millstone of Communist agitation.

Nation Needs New Party

"But the fact remains that the United States needs a new party—needs it badly. The two old parties are now one, although still sailing under two labels. There is no fundamental principle, however, to distinguish the Republican from the Democratic party.

"For democracy to survive, it is necessary to have a big strong opposition party founded on principle, in our country. I believe that party will be the Socialist party, although I do not care under what name such a party will win out so long as the people get the substance.

Elections Indicate Trend

"The election results in Reading and Buffalo clearly show that we have reached the turn of the road and that America will soon join the worldwide movement of westernized civilized nations and in time lead it."

German Socialism Gains on Eve of National Election

German Socialism Gains on Eve of National Election

Socialist Victory In France Soon

PARIS.—A Socialist victory is seen in France in the next general election as the result of action voted by the overwhelming majority of the Radical Socialist party, which is a liberal instead of a Socialist party, in its recent convention here.

Edouard Daladier, president of the party and champion of a policy which would put the liberals in alliance with the Socialist party instead of the reactionary bloc of the right, won on every point of his policy by a large majority.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt, leader of the faction favoring alliance with the right, left the local test elections held showed an important swing to the left.

Beginning today, all the parties will begin national campaigns for next year's parliamentary elections, and also will begin proposing candidates for the presidency. It is certain that the Monarchs will run again. The old field marshal Paul von

Socialist Party News

Socialists Victorious

The Socialists were victorious in November elections. Comrades are all enthusiastic over the successes and their desire to build the Party and its press seems to be universal according to letters pouring into National Headquarters. Comrade Berger, our National Chairman, sounds the sentiment right when he says that the turn toward Socialism means a bigger and powerful Socialist movement in this country. Many comrades that were pessimistic for several years are all amiss again and are ready to get into the work with a vengeance. There is no doubt but the great mass of workers and progressive minded folks in other walks of life are turning to the Socialists for leadership, to a more just and sane administration of their affairs in public offices. The year 1928 will see the Socialist Party jumping to the front again and our comrades must all become active in the building of the party and preparing for the big work ahead. There is nothing to worry about. If we appreciate the progress of our cause, then all we have to do is work for success and it will be had.

Splendid Meeting at Pittsburgh, Kans.

Socialists of Kansas held a big enthusiastic meeting at Pittsburgh on Sunday afternoon, November 13. Comrade Arthur Bridwell, the official State Secretary of the Party, and Ross Magill, Acting State Secretary, were on hand from up state as well as others who came to Pittsburgh to talk over organization work and plan for the rebuilding of the Party in Kansas. Much enthusiasm was shown by all the comrades. The meeting was well attended, especially from Pittsburgh and vicinity. Every one seems to be ready to go into the harness and rebuild the Party organization.

The Jugoslav comrades furnished excellent music which started the meeting off with a "bang." National Executive Secretary Henry was the principal speaker of the afternoon and the enthusiasm displayed by the audience proved conclusively that the Socialists of the State, and especially in the district of Pittsburgh, are ready to go ahead.

This enthusiastic meeting, the first one held for some years in that community, proved to the satisfaction of not only the National Secretary, but Comrade Bridwell and Magill and other leaders that conditions are now such that should encourage our comrades everywhere to get busy organizing new locals, getting members at large, and prepare for the 1928 campaign. The Kansas Socialists will be on the job early. They are preparing to raise money for the purpose of sending organizers into the field. Readers of the American Appeal who are Socialists should make it their business to place themselves in the work and get new members, get their application to the Party, collect at least the first month's dues, 50 cents, send the application and money to Ross Magill, 401 W. 1st St., Garnett, Kans., and he in turn will issue membership cards.

Comrade Magill is a trained Party man and will doubtless make good in the rebuilding of the Party in that state with the cooperation of the Socialists in all parts of Kansas.

Other State Conferences will be held in the near future with the National Office cooperating.

Washington

Comrade Emil Herman writes us that two new members were added to the Seattle Local and he expects others to follow in the rebuilding of the movement in that city. The new members were young men, the very type that make good workers, live wires in Party activity.

Readers of the American Appeal who are not members of the Party should send their name and address and at least their first month's dues to Comrade Emil Herman, 4420 Evanston Ave., Seattle, Washington. Comrade Herman has charge of the Northwest District which takes in Washington and Oregon. There is no time to be lost in building the movement and getting ready for the State and National ticket in the Northwest District.

P. M. Dyer, Battle Ground, Wash., who is a member at large, in good standing in the Socialist Party, informed the District Secretary that he has made a will in which he provides that 1/3 of his estate will go to the Socialist Party with the understanding that the money is to be expended for organization and educational purposes and that Comrade Emil Herman is the Executor of the will.

Comrade James Lund of Redondo, Wash., a member of Local Seattle also states that he intends making a similar will except that he will leave all his property to the Socialist Party.

Oklahoma

There has been a number of letters arriving at National Headquarters from the state of Oklahoma, telling

us that the Socialists desire to cooperate in the rebuilding of the Party that state. We wish to suggest to the readers of the American Appeal, who wish to become red card members of the Socialist party and cooperate in the holding of a State Convention in the near future for the purpose of rebuilding the movement in that state, that they write to National Headquarters at once, giving opinions on the matter that we may cooperate with one another.

New Jersey

Comrade Robert Iemans of Local Hudson County, Socialist Party, sends more money to Headquarters as our share from memorial meetings. Comrades everywhere that have held such meetings should not forget that 50 per cent of the net proceeds from such meetings are to be sent to the National Office where it will be divided equally between the Party and the American Appeal.

Debs Birth Place Pictures

The Debs Birth Place pictures on good paper, suitable for framing can be had from National Headquarters, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. The pictures are 9" x 11". Single picture, 25 cents; one dozen \$2.00; for 100 \$15.00. The same pictures on postcards can be had for 30 cents per dozen, or 100 for 50 cents. Comrades will all want one of these beautiful pictures for the home, club rooms, etc., and each comrade will surely want a supply of the postcards to be mailed to friends and relatives.

Walls And Bars Prize Winners

The following comrades sent in \$5 or more to assist in the circulation of the American Appeal for the week ending November 12, and received a copy each of Walls and Bars, Debs great book, free:

- Harry D. Williams, Fair Oaks, Cal., \$5. donation.
- W. C. Smeigh, Steelton, Pa., \$5. subs and card.
- F. M. Dyer, Battleground, Wash., \$5. subs and card.
- Chas. Koll, Portland, Ore., \$5. subs and card.
- J. A. Manson, Watertown, N. Y., \$5. subs.
- W. J. Hawthorne, Anadarko, Okla., \$5. subs.
- Harvey Staats, Oakland, Calif., \$5. subs.
- J. T. McKinley, Seattle, Wash., \$5. cards.
- A. H. Flaten, St. Helena, Cal., \$5. cards.

Appeal Fund Contributions

Harry D. Williams, Fair Oaks, Calif.	\$5.00
On Pledges	
H. O. Fuhrberg, Seattle, Wash.	\$2.00
Sub-A-Month Donations	
S. A. Wanberg, Midvale, Utah	\$1.00
Total.....	\$1.00

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Chicago Meeting for Colorado Strikers

A Colorado strike mass meeting will be held on Sunday Nov. 20, 2 p.m. at 111½ W. Madison Street, Chicago. The speakers will be William R. Cowen, Dan Hurley, Louis Antolini, and John A. Gahan. All interested in fighting against the Colorado outrage are invited to attend.

New York Socialist Vote In Big Jump

(Continued from page 1)
disgraceful election stealing. In all cases the Tammany election officials were flanked by a collection of gangsters who aided in the intimidation of voters who were being deprived of their votes. The Socialist Watchers who made protest over the procedure were brutalized. The voters were threatened, beaten and bluffed. Notorious gangsters, gamblers and pimps were on hand to full force taking orders from the Tammany leaders. The police officers were for the most part frightened by fear of political reprisals into closing their eyes to the thievery.

In one polling place a watcher had a gun pointed into his ribs and a second later a club struck him from behind, laying him out; in another polling place, ranking after the tear gas powder into the eyes of the two Socialist watchers just as the voting machine was being opened for recording of the votes. Socialists watchers were refused the right to note the results tabulated on the machines. Many were ejected and threatened.

The part played by the Republicans in the 4th district was particularly reprehensible. Here the Republican organization

placed itself completely at the disposal of Tammany. Republican election board officials aided and connived at the wholesale falsified voting by the Tammany officials. They gave their Tammany friends a helping hand during the recording of the result.

WEVD Offered as Weapon to Fight Injunction Move

NEW YORK.—The entire broadcasting facilities of Station WEVD, the labor radio station operated by the Debs Memorial Fund, 31 Union Square, have been placed at the disposal of William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; A. F. of L. organizer, and officials of the Amalgamated Association of Street & Electric Railway Employees in their fight against the proposed injunction to be sued out by the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, in its effort to prevent the union organization of 14,000 employees.

The offer was made by G. August Gerber, Secretary of the Debs Fund, by telegraph to President Green, who is in Washington, and to Hugh Frayne, A. F. of L. organizer in New York, Patrick Shea and James H. Coleman, representing the transit workers' union.

"It is natural," said Mr. Gerber in making his announcement, "that we should offer our aid to the A. F. of L. in its struggle against the most iniquitous weapon ever employed against union labor—the injunction. Unions may as well cease to exist if they cannot, by their collective power, refuse to work under frightful conditions or organize the unorganized wherever they can. The Board of Trustees of the Debs Fund has organized Station WEVD to be a crusading vehicle for the hopes and aspirations of union labor. WEVD has been organized to be a Civil Liberties forum. An injunction interfering with and prohibiting the rights of labor organizations and collective bargaining comes dangerously close to destroying the basic rights of free men. In effect, such an injunction reestablishes chattel slavery. We shall not be found wanting in this emergency. We will broadcast to the world labor's position in this struggle against predatory capital."

Terrorism Used to Stamp Out Unions In Pennsylvania

Club Follows Injunctions in War of Extermination by Coal Operators

The club has followed the extensive use of the injunction in the efforts of the mine bosses of Pennsylvania to stamp out trade unionism in Pennsylvania, according to a report issued by the American Civil Liberties Union telling of a fresh outbreak of appalling and bloody atrocities by coal and iron police. The Civil Liberties account follows:

Four coal miners, pickets, were beaten up and seriously injured at Avella, Penn. recently by coal and iron police who are alleged to have been drunk, according to reports received by the American Civil Liberties Union from the mine fields of western Pennsylvania where a strike has been on since April 1. A majority of the mine operators of that section who were being deprived of their votes. The Socialist Watchers who made protest over the procedure were brutalized. The voters were threatened, beaten and bluffed. Notorious gangsters, gamblers and pimps were on hand to full force taking orders from the Tammany leaders. The police officers were for the most part frightened by fear of political reprisals into closing their eyes to the thievery.

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The part played by the Republicans in the 4th district was particularly reprehensible. Here the Republican organization

set medicine for his sick child. Joe Lazar stepped out of the picket shack across the road and they attacked him, beating him up badly. Angelo Simonetti was attacked as he was going home from the picket line. Two coal and iron police, both of whom he says were drunk, grabbed him by the coat and tore it partly off. He tried to run and one of them held him while the other beat him up. He finally tore loose and ran. One of the police fired a shot at him, but was so drunk, Simonetti says, that he missed his mark. All four of the men had to be taken to the hospital for treatment.

No charges were made against the police.

Another example of this type of intimidation occurred at Harmarville, Penn., on October 21 when George Binguila, striking miner, was shot through the leg by an officer, who, it is alleged, was drunk. The officer was involved in an argument with some other miners people had become highly abusive when Binguila came up and protested. The officer grabbed his pistol suddenly and shot Binguila in the leg. The officer then

left. The deputies and coal and iron police there had previously made several attacks on women and children. A woman, nursing a child, was pushed down an embankment by one of them and was seriously injured.

700 Church Leaders, In Move to End War, Petition President

The tremendous swing of the church elements of America to the peace movement was strikingly illustrated by the latest move of 700 representatives of millions of church people in every part of the United States in the presentation of a petition to President Coolidge asking that the United States accept the French offer to sign an anti-war pact. In part the petition says:

"We heartily welcome the proposal of M. Briand that France and the United States shall make mutual engagement for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. We believe.

"1. That war should never again be resorted to by civilized nations as the means for settling disputes.

"2. That war, save for self-defense against actual attack, should be outlawed and declared by the nations to be an international crime.

"3. That the renunciation of war by treaties and solemn engagements should be undertaken between all the principal nations, adequate provision being made for conciliation, mediation, arbitration and judicial settlement.

"4. That such engagements constitute an essential measure in creating the spirit of mutual confidence which must precede a general movement for disarmament.

"5. And that the settlement of every threatening dispute, whatever its nature, should be sought only by pacific means.

"We therefore request our president and senate to respond promptly and favorably to the proposal of M. Briand. And we desire at the same time that it be made clear to other nations that the United States would be pleased and would hope to enter into similar agreements with them.

"We respectfully submit this appeal and earnestly hope for early and favorable action.

Bishop William F. McFowell, chairman of the delegation, in a written statement said: "This movement is one of the many indications of a rising tide of interest throughout the country in fighting war an outgrowth thing of the past."

Colorado Outlaws Strikers-Liberties Union Enters Fight

A serious encroachment on the rights of organized labor is embodied in a proclamation by Governor Adams of Colorado outlawing the I. W. W. coal miners. Prior to this act Governor Adams repeatedly declared that the I. W. W. was an un-American organization. This automatically withdraws all legal protection from the strikers and makes all their acts as strikers illegal and subject to prosecution by the state. Practically all the strike leaders have been arrested since the promulgation of this act.

While the I. W. W. is strongly opposed by the American Federation of Labor and regarded as a dual union, this action by the governor of a state is a dangerous attack on all labor organization.

Prior to the outlawing of the I. W. W. the American Civil Liberties Union with headquarters in New York, entered into the fight, as the result of serious violations of law by the government of Colorado. The Civil Liberties account says:

Colorado's sweeping law against "inciting to strike or continuing to strike" which is now being used in an attempt to break the strike of

the company owning the mine at the Aurora mine at that place. About 6:30 o'clock in the afternoon, one of the police staggered out and waved some bills at one of the miners pickets, demanding that he go and get some whiskey for them.

When the miner, George Harkow, refused to help them, they retired, but came back about 6:30 o'clock and attacked him with a blackjack. His skull was fractured. Albin Gallegos was attacked by them and badly beaten up as he walked down the road on the way to a doctor to

Militarism Had Real Defeat In Recent Revolt in Mexico

Mexican Account of Gomez-Serano Uprising

Editor's Note

The summary execution last week of General Arnulfo Gomez, Mexican reactionary, counter-revolutionary, rings down the curtains of the latest military drama in Mexico. This event has far more significance than appears on the surface. It was really the defeat by democracy of the latest Fascist, or capitalist-militarist method of crushing democracy, arresting social progress and "consolidating the genius of capitalism." The same method which had succeeded in Italy, Spain, Hungary, Bulgaria and other European countries in the establishment of military dictatorships, was nipped in the bud as a result of the democratic loyalty of the Mexican soldiers and the social solidarity of the Mexican workers and peasants. The establishment of a military dictatorship as tyrannical, savage and undemocratic as Muñoz's regime was prevented right on the border of the United States. This victory of the people is important for the United States and for the whole world.

Capitalism is bound to attempt to militarize wherever seriously threatened by real democracy. The Mexican people have demonstrated that it can be prevented from doing so that democratic preparedness can stop the further world-wide march of fascism and throw it back in confusion and defeat. The Mexican event also demonstrates that democratic preparedness consists in the holding of political—governmental—power by the common people—the workers. As the workers rise to political power the nightmare of Fascism fades from the earth.

The following account of the events and meaning of the recent Mexican military uprising was sent to the American Appeal by the Mexican Press Service, Mexico City.

The so-called Gomez-Serano rebellion of October 2nd, has been completely crushed by the energy of President Calles and his administration.

The incident was the outcome of differences which began last spring with the appearance of three contestants for the coming presidential period in Mexico. In 1928, two of them, General Gomez and Serano, had left town forty-eight hours before the uprising, that Gomez had taken up arms in the state of Veracruz where his following was strong due to his long service in that section as Chief of Military Operations, and that General Serano was prepared to take over the troops in the state of Morelos and to lead them against the Federal Government.

The political fight began by pronounced impetus and quickly led to great excitement among the Mexican people. Anti-revolution candidates spoke openly about revolution and declared that they would take arms against the Federal Government in case the votes went in their favor. But even before the campaign could be well gotten well under way, it was amply apparent to everyone and to the leaders as well as the popular vote was not in their favor—not so much because of their doubtful personalities and their general unpopularity with the great masses of the Mexican people and both decided to appeal to force.

A military uprising throughout the Republic, planned months before, was timed for the above-mentioned date. It was directed against the Constitutional Government of President Calles because both anti-revolution candidates claimed that the Calles Government was supposedly helping the other side and supporting the candidacy of Obregon.

The Government acted swiftly. Loyal troops from Mexico City were ordered to pursue the marching rebels under General Almada. Loyal troops in the neighborhood of Torreon were ordered to attack the rebels in Torreon, who after three hours battle were disarmed and Torreon once more placed under control of forces loyal to the Federal Government. Revolutionary officers were court-martialed, condemned to death on the score of high treason and summarily executed. Like procedure was followed in the states and thus the Government succeeded in keeping the situation in hand. The Government's next move was against General Serano who was arrested by loyal troops in Cuernavaca, brought before a military court and with thirteen intimate friends and associates accompanying him was condemned and executed on October 3. A few days later the loyal rebel forces of Gomez and Almada were beaten by loyal troops and the greater part brought back to Mexico City as prisoners.

On October 23 the Union protested against this statement and asked recognition by the state authorities of the right to strike and picket peacefully for the miners on strike in the Colorado coal fields.

Can You Answer These?

When your friend, neighbor, or relative asks you the following: What are the incentives to work under Socialism? Will Socialism destroy individuality? The Home? Religion? Will industry be taken over? And the thousand and one questions usually asked by those unfamiliar with the meaning of Socialism?

You may already be satisfied in your mind as to the proper answers to all the above, but can you formulate answers that will carry conviction? If not

NEWS AND VIEWS

Our Splendid Gains

American Socialists have every cause to jubilate and celebrate and say "I told you so."

The glorious Socialist victory in Reading, the healthy gain registered in New York City despite refusal of Tammany's bidding to count thousands of votes and the intimidation of thousands of other voters; the Buffalo result where nearly 76,000 American citizens voted for an avowed Socialist who made his campaign largely on the issue of Socialism; surprising and unanticipated gains in small towns showing a reawakening desire among voters for the return of a party occupying the strong opposition position of the Socialist Party—all these are signs that we have not seen before since the war.

At a time when interest in Socialist party organization is still at a low ebb, this swing of the voters to support of Socialist candidates undoubtedly marks a turn of the tide in preparation of the soil for Socialist work and organization in the immediate future.

Reading has a population of about 115,000. It is the first city in the United States to pass completely under the control of a Socialist administration. A movement that is just attaining this stage of growth is not dead and will not die, despite the outward apathy of many Socialists. We are just at the beginning of a new epoch of Socialist progress in America.

The election indicates that the only thing the matter with the Socialist movement in America is the old Socialist who have for years quelled all Socialist activity. The public attitude is changing. The time is here with us once more when encouraging results can be obtained by determined, consistent, constructive work. We can now have many Readings if the Socialists will get together, organize and get busy. We can make 1928 the beginning of a far stronger and surer Socialist movement than the one before the war.

The Enemy Also Strengthens Position

While glorious news of the now rapidly rising tide of Socialism comes from countries all over the world, Fascism the antithesis of Socialism and its deadly international enemy, has within the week formally dropped the last form and pretense of democracy from the structure of Italian government and the Mussolini dictatorship has become a savage and sinister fact.

The last act that completes the Fascist dictatorship is Mussolini's repudiation of his own former principle—representation in the government of syndicates, or economic groups. All independent representation or power of syndicates in government has been dropped. Only such "representatives" of syndicates as are passed upon by Mussolini's grand council and accepted will be received into the government. Only the most loyal Fascists will be permitted to enter the council of government—only those who bend completely to the will of Mussolini and are already a part of his dictatorship.

The former plan was representation by syndicates under a system wherein Mussolini and his council made enough appointments to insure their control of government. Under the new arrangement Mussolini in actual effect makes all appointments. Groups of workers, bankers, merchants or professionals can elect no one whom Mussolini does not happen to want.

This change is frankly designated as the end of democracy in Italy by the Fascists themselves.

SOVIET RUSSIA REVIEWS FIRST 10 YEARS OF NEW GOVERNMENT

Foreign Trade Increases

"The co-operatives have grown enormously. The consumers' co-operatives have a membership of 12,000,000 and run upward of 60,000 stores, and the farm co-operatives have a membership of 7,500,000. Last year the co-operatives conducted 44 per cent of the internal trade and upward of 10 per cent of the foreign trade."

"During the last five years industrial production has increased five-fold, the output per worker has more than doubled, and the number of workers in large scale industries has doubled. The monthly industrial output has been above the pre-war rate since the fall of 1926, and during the last two years the agricultural output has been about equal to the pre-war output in the same time. The metal industry and ore mining are the only large industries still below the pre-war level. During the current fiscal year, beginning Oct. 1, \$600,754,840 will be expended for capital improvements in industry—over one-fourth of this for new plants."

Year's Harvest Good

"The soviet union this fall gathered its third successive good harvest. Grain production was somewhat lower than in 1926, the other crops larger in some instances by 50 per cent. Bumper crops of cotton and sugar beets brought production in these staples up to pre-war. About 35,000 tractors took part in this year's harvest as compared with 500 in 1913."

"During the last three years electrical expansion has been rapid. During the last year the large scale electrical plants furnished five times as much power as in 1913, the village stations 11 times as much. Work has been started on the Dneiper river hydro-electric plant, which will be somewhat larger than Muscle Shoals. Col. Hugh L. Cooper, creator of Muscle Shoals, is chief consulting engineer."

"Railway mileage is close to 47,500, compared with 36,500 miles in 1913, and 26,500 miles in 1917."

A Deadly Parallel

In one of its resolutions at Los Angeles the American Federation of Labor puts Soviet Russia and Fascist Italy in the same class, designating bolshevism as being as bad in every way as Fascism.

Even the raid capitalist and anti-labor American newspapers cannot stomach such an obviously unfair and prejudiced classification. In a recent editorial the Chicago Daily News compares the two systems as follows:

"The Fascist scheme is more radical and—in theory at least—much less democratic than the Russian system of pyramided soviet representation, the foundation of which is the village or the factory soviet."

Surely, a labor organization ought to be as fair to a workers' government, no matter how much they may disagree with it, as the out and out organ of capitalism.

Mussolini and Our Press Are Exposed

By Ernest Untermann
(In The Milwaukee Leader)

George Seelos, former correspondent of The Chicago Tribune in Rome, expelled by Mussolini for telling the truth about Fascism paints in the November number of Harper's Magazine a picture of Fascist censorship which confirms The Leader's special reports.

Soldes makes a grave charge against the majority of the American newspaper correspondents in Italy. He declares that most of them have accepted Mussolini's bribe of 6,000 cable words per month free of charge, and that for this reason those American newspapers print only articles in praise of Fascism.

Soldes also confirms The Leader's view to the effect that items of the highest news value are suppressed by American news agencies with the specious excuse that "American readers are not interested."

We should like to hear what the big American newspapers and news agencies have to say in reply to Soldes. Surely they cannot pass such charges in silence. They come from one of their own best men.

Soldes adds that most of the foreign correspondents in Italy agree with him. They would prefer to tell all the important news as it happens, but they cannot afford to lose their jobs.

The most damning part of this censorship is that Mussolini has the backing of American millionaires and he can tell lies to American readers because American bankers and investors in Italian industries benefit by his censorship.

To Expose Al Smith As A Tammany Tool

(Editorial, The New Leader, New York)

In spite of criminal intimidation and herding of "floaters" to the polls, the Socialist Party made substantial increases in its vote. Judge Parker was re-elected and Charles Solomon was elected to the Assembly in the 23rd district of Brooklyn but neither man will serve in office. Their election was vetoed by the criminal elements that serve the "New Tammany" and the choice of these elements will prevail over the choice of the voters. In spite of theft, thuggery and "floaters," the Socialist Party made headway and with the success in Reading and Buffalo there is no doubt that the party will be the chief standard bearer of the workers in the national campaign next year.

One thing we are determined upon as a result of this debauch of the electorate and swindling of the

voters. Tammany has marketed Governor Smith as its candidate for President next year in the hope of moving next to the federal money vault. Smith has been the beneficiary of Tammany and its methods for years. He is the "good man" in office and as such he is advertised throughout the nation. One need only recall the fact that Algonquin Lee and Edward F. Cassilly were elected as Socialists to the Board of Aldermen a few years ago and were deprived of their seats till a few weeks before their terms expired.

This "job" of the Tammany yegg

is only one of many that have made elections in New York City a thieves' paradise. When the degenerate layers

of the proletariat are mobilized in

election to cow voters and to veto

their will, election becomes a farce

and every man identified with such

theons. Alfred E. Smith shares just

as much responsibility for this as any

thug recruited as a "floaters" on the

East Side. Alleged "labor men"

share in this debauching of elections

who in any way support any man

connected with these practices. They

prostitute the labor movement and

barter the movement as stakes in a

game of thievery.

Our answer to the Tammanyites

will go to the nation next year. We

shall do our part to deflate the "good

man" and the "New Tammany." We

see no difference between the oil

criminals on trial in Washington and

the lesser type in New York that

swines its way into office and power

through shame, terror and thievery.

Bankers Propose Fascist Army Here

(From Labor, Washington, D. C.)

Speaking before the National Crime Commission, gathered in Washington, James E. Baum, deputy manager of the American Bankers' Association, openly advocated a nation-wide organization of vigilantes on what he called the "Iowa plan."

In Iowa, he says, 3,000 "picked men" have been armed and depurified to help run down bandits. Arms are supplied by the War Department. Expenses of the War are met by the State Bankers' Association.

Mr. Baum would have this "Iowa idea" extended till every community

would have a group of armed men ready to assemble at any moment, trained to obey orders and to shoot to kill.

As a means of checking bank banditry in crowded cities, the Baum plan would be a Godsend to undertakers. The innocent bystander suffers enough with only one group of quick-firing gunmen in action.

As a move toward Fascism, the Baum plan is perfect. Mussolini would love it!

If 3,000 vigilantes are needed to execute the Baum plan, at least 200,000 would be required to care for the nation.

These men would be armed by the War Department; but they would be chosen, drilled and paid by private interests; in this case, the banking interests. They would constitute a private army larger than the regular army of the United States; and this would be only the beginning.

If the American Bankers' Association is entitled to a private army of 200,000 men, surely the National Manufacturers' Association is entitled to a larger force.

In little while, under the Baum plan, there would be a group of private armies able to crash strikes and control elections. With that situation reached, the choice of a dictator is a mere detail.

Yet, this astounding scheme was put forward by a representative of the American Bankers' Association, was sponsored, apparently, by the Assistant Secretary of War, who introduced Mr. Baum, and failed to rouse any competent protest from a group which is undertaking to reform our criminal administration.

If called on to choose between a military policy by private armies on the one hand, and on the other even so outrageous an usurpation of banditry as for a time prevailed in Illinois, any liberty-loving citizen who knows anything of history would vote to struggle along with the brigands.

But no community is reduced to such a choice. Canada has suppressed banditry without resorting to private armies, and American communities can do the same.

As an accepted institution, the private army went out of date with the Middle Ages, and not even the American Bankers' Association can bring it back.

Significance of British Labor Gain

(From The Nation, New York)

The gain by the Labor Party of more than a hundred new seats in the local elections just held in England and Scotland has this year a particular significance. Labor majorities in many borough and town councils and boards of guardians, and strong Labor minorities in many more, have, since the war, been a source of bitter annoyance to the Conservatives. By their power to vote unemployment and poor relief, these Labor councilors have won the support of large working-class constituencies, a support which in the long run is translated into votes for Labor in the general election. Labor councilors, such as George Lansbury and Susan Lawrence, have gone to prison for voting appropriations for relief in their boroughs, which have been judged "unreasonable" by the auditors. Going to prison has, of course, only had the further effect of increasing their popularity and that of the Labor Party; both Susan Lawrence and George Lansbury are now in Parliament. The Conservatives have tried by various devices to discredit the local Labor authorities and limit their power over the "parapayers' money. Parliament

has tightened the control of the auditors appointed by the Ministry of Health—and has changed the penalty for recalcitrant councilors from a prison sentence to disbarment from office for five years. It is encouraging to see the prompt answer of the voters to this effort to eliminate and undermine Labor's local representatives.

Capitalism Blunts

(By Oscar Ameringer
(In The Milwaukee Leader)

For an exhibition of prize boobyry mixed with unadulterated gall, I recommend the meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce recently held in West Baden, Indiana.

Birth control was denounced as constituting an obstacle to the free supply of work hands and cannon fodder. Sinclair Lewis and his book, Elmer Gantry, was raked over the coals as slandering everything that is sacred, including Billy Sunday and Alice McPherson.

The Walsh resolution, asking that a committee of the United States Senate be appointed to investigate big business, is resolutely resented as "another step toward the invasion of the inalienable rights of the people." (Happy people, how they love your rights!)

Public ownership of public utilities is damned as a part of the Communist game sweeping out of Russia. Public ownership and Russian Bolshevism are also responsible for the split of England—I am quoting verbatim:

"Of all the nations today, I sympathize with and pity England the most. Overwhelmed by the enormity of its public debt, the nation today is facing financial ruin. At the beginning of the century, the country listened to government in business, opening the gate for the spread of Communism and Socialism in the nation.

"Russia flooded the British Isles with their anarchistic theories and ideal and plunged them into debt beyond the very thought of their rulers. The recent coal strike cost the nation over \$2,000,000,000, and resulted in a loss of life to many a poor working man. They were the victims of government in business."

Sure, Mike. The imperialistic world had nothing to do with the ruination of Imperial England. Not a thing. But on with the dumbbell dance.

"The child labor amendment to the constitution that has already passed both houses of congress is sheer stupidity, contrary to human instincts and the law of self-preservation. It hinders cultivation also become more cultivated and successful draft horses than three-year-olds."

Therefore, let the little ones come unto our mills, factories and mines, and suffer them not, for of such mil lions are made.

This also explains why successful parents send their children to stations with college attachments until they are twenty-four. Yearling colts, hitched to cultivators also become more cultivated and successful draft horses than three-year-olds."

Then comes the conclusion, doggery and grand finale. Christ is dragged to West Baden for "Let us (The United States Chamber of Commerce) resort to the principles of the Sermon on the Mount and be decent, honest and thrifty in our contact with the rest of the world."

What bosh, rot and hogwash serve up to a people so asinine as to suffer itself to be led by asses.

The Inevitable Fruits of Empire

(From The Baptist, Religious Publication, Chicago)

Some time ago in these columns attention was called to the proposed treaty between the United States and Panama as likely to be more than the people of Panama could swallow. One item in the treaty provides that whenever the United States shall be at war Panama shall join this country in the war and shall be practically subject to the military control of the United States. The Herald of Gospel Liberty protests in a real human fashion against such a treaty. The protest is vain. "Our interest" demand that Panama be rendered impotent for harm and as useful as possible to us in war. What about the interest of Panama? Such a question? When a weak nation falls within the circle of interest of an empire, it is to the interest of that nation to do what the empire has the power and will to compel it to do.

Does anybody need a diagram in order to see that truth? But where do the principles of freedom and justice come in? Pshaw! That question belongs to nineteenth century Americanism. It sounds like Abraham Lincoln. Fellow citizens, are we not an empire in fact and are we not fast formulating the "empire of empire"? Must we talk empire or loose castle?

Ontario State Railway Success

TORONTO.—For the first time in its history, the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario railway, owned and operated by the province of Ontario, has been able this year to meet all interest charges out of earnings.

Announcement to this effect was made by Premier Ferguson last week, and the success of the railway has been favorably commented upon by the press of the province. A check for \$1,300,000 was handed to the premier by George W. Lee, chairman of the T. & N. O. commission. This was \$300,000 in excess of last year.

Included in the outlay for the past year was the interest on all extensions, including the new Rouyn line, the James Bay extension north of Cochrane, and the new telephone line to Kapuskasing.

Announcement was also made that the Rouyn line would be put into operation on November 28.

The T. & N. O. pays standard rates of wages and the workers are practically 100 per cent organized in the parapayers' money. Parliament

enrolled in the strikers' cause such women as Zena Gile, the author,

Lillian D. Wald, Ida M. Tarbell, Rev. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Miss Anne Morgan, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and Mrs. Raymond Robbins. From the long list of names of judges, lawyers, professors, financiers, governors, mayors, United States Senators we

can pick at random the names

Relation of Workers' Education To Independent Political Action

Editor's Note

To many, workers' education in the United States as conducted by the trade union movement seems like a ship without a rudder. It has no main purpose. It is merely drifting. Fannie Cohn, the able secretary of the Educational Department of the International Ladies Garment Workers, here describes the need for a unifying ideology in the movement if it is to equip the worker with the knowledge that will count in changing his status to one of genuine power and freedom.

H. W. L.

Fannie M. Cohn

(Secretary of the Educational Department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union)

THE labor movement itself, workers' education must have its own natural development, a development influenced by general economic conditions, as these act upon the workers' lives. The discussions in the classrooms will naturally reflect the economic conditions of the country whether they be those of mythical "prosperity" or of actual unemployment. The economic classes will inevitably consider the position in which the workers—that is to say, the particular group of them carrying on the discussion—find themselves. There are, however, a great many additional influences acting upon the contents of the curriculum of any workers' college—such as the economic, social, cultural, emotional, racial background of the group in the numerical majority in the college.

If, however, we follow along the lines of natural development entirely, then our workers' education movement will lack a single central idea. For the development will naturally vary from place to place, from group to group. I should like to emphasize, in passing, that it is at no point our idea to standardize a workers' education curriculum—we realize that education must be flexible, experimental, and must reflect the interests of the groups involved. Nevertheless, if workers' education is to have a distinctive character and is to serve the labor movement and the progress of society as a whole, then it must have a central ideology to act as a

unifying force in the labor movement, bringing together the workers of our whole continent, who live from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The Ideology of Labor Education

Such an ideology would include the workers' desire for power to enable them as an organized group to function effectively on the economic, political, social and intellectual fields, and for a voice in the management of industry, since it affects not only the management, but the workers in the industry, and the public as consumers. It would express the workers' desire, too, for a voice in the shaping of our international policy, as these affect the lives and happiness of tens of millions of men, women and children, and for the placing of our vast natural resources at the disposal of our entire population. Such an ideology would naturally not rest upon temporary conditions, nor be affected much by prosperity or depression.

Political Action

To develop such an ideology, the labor movement will have to set to formulate a social program based not on personalities, but on ideals. To achieve this program, the labor movement will need to create complicated but efficient machinery.

This machinery may involve independent political action, but a labor political party is brought into being by many independent forces. It cannot be born until the workers as an organized group develop a desire for power—to enable them to direct their own lives and achieve the ultimate aims that will advance the progress of humanity. Then, too, as long as the program of the labor movement consists of the temporary everyday needs of the workers alone—though, of course, these must always be its main impulse—so long the workers will feel no need for independent political action.

More Lofty Ideals Needed

The present state of mind of the millions of American workers and of the conditions in which the labor movement finds itself in this country are easily understandable to students of the American labor movement and American history. There is encouragement, however, in the scores of men and women, active officers and rank and file members of trade unions, who feel the need for

this ideal to hold up before the labor movement as an inspiration for forward motion. They realize that if the millions of unorganized workers in our basic industries are to be attracted by trade unionism, then those millions already in the movement must be more inspired by it, more ready to make sacrifices for its further development.

Industry Has Adjusted Itself to Post-War Development

These persons realize that in the post-war period industrialism in our country has adjusted itself to the new world conditions brought into being, in large part, by the Great War. They know it has perfected its managerial machinery, become more efficient, changed its front—become, in other words, the new management.

They know it absorbs most of the vigorous talent our universities turn out, and supports our schools of commerce and business more actively than ever before. They know it expects its recruits to management to be posted not only on mathematics so that they can make advance calculations of the firm's profits, but prepared in the social sciences and particularly in psychology. Big business has come to realize the value of a knowledge of the human mind and of what influences human behavior and the actions of men.

The New Paternalism

This training in social studies is all needed by the new management, for it is endeavoring to show a new—benevolent attitude—towards its workers, an attitude exemplified, among other things, in the development of company unions, of various benefit schemes for workers—old age pensions, unemployment benefits, social recreational activities. And all this, these interested members of the labor movement realize, tends to keep the worker in subjection to the new superpower—the industrial kingdom.

When the union has succeeded in establishing certain standards as to wages, hours and conditions, it comes to be by second intention a policeman of the industry, on the one hand preventing the employer from withdrawing, under the stress of competition, conditions which he has been compelled to grant, and on the other hand preventing the individual worker under the stress of the struggle for existence, from consenting to the lowering of conditions, accepting lower wages for example or working overtime.

Inseparably the union passes into a third stage. It comes to be accepted as an integral part of the industrial machine. It is the one agency really interested in the well-being of the industry as an industry and not as a source of private and immediate profit or wages. It thus seeks to preserve and enhance the industry as the basis of the livelihood and life of the workers. It comes to have constructive interest in and relation to the problem of efficient production.

The inference is plain. The organization of the workers which even under capitalism tends to become a necessary instrument in the process of production will in the new social system be consulted.

tectual independence, as a part of a great social movement in society. In addition, these workers feel that we must do something to show labor in general that the employers' promises to the workers are mythical—

their unemployment insurance is not insurance, their old age pensions are not pensions; that indeed, most of the improvements offered are merely promises which do not stand before the law, so that sick and death benefits may never be collected by the worker or his family. To expose all this requires an intelligent, well-informed trade union leadership, re-

quires persons with clear vision, with an intelligent understanding of social and economic conditions and the forces molding them.

Support Labor Colleges

These workers who give hope to the movement have come to feel that the workers' education movement has been and even more in the future will be a contributor. They realize, of course, that the effects cannot be noticed at once, as the movement is still in its infancy, comparatively speaking, and it has taken almost fifty years for the large industrial-

lata to realize the value to them of university trained executives, before they are willing full heartedly to support both morally and financially the business colleges where these executives get their education. Our trade unionists hope that it will take much less time for the labor movement to realize the advantage of having a well informed and educated leadership, and to support full heartedly, both morally and financially, its own educational institutions, institutions to which we can send our young men and women who have shown inherent qualities of leader-

ship while serving the labor movement in many capacities—whether as officers or members of the rank and file. There in the workers' classes, they will be given the opportunity to enrich their knowledge of the social force that the labor movement is in our modern society; and to infuse in themselves a new spirit that will give them a better outlet for their imaginations and fit them for better service to the cause of the labor movement and to humanity as a whole.

PLACE OF THE TRADE UNION IN THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

By A. J. Muste

(Chairman of Faculty, Brookwood Labor College and Vice-President, American Federation of Teachers)

These persons realize that in the post-war period industrialism in our country has adjusted itself to the new world conditions brought into being, in large part, by the Great War. They know it has perfected its managerial machinery, become more efficient, changed its front—become, in other words, the new management.

Three Stages of Trade Union Development

The evolution of the trade union has recently been interestingly set forth by Dr. Horace M. Kallen in his book, *Education, the Machine and the Worker*. By first intention, to paraphrase Dr. Kallen very freely, the union is a defensive instrument spontaneously formed by the workers to protect themselves and their families against the degradation forced upon them under the anarchic conditions prevailing with the coming of the industrial revolution in a given industry or group of industries.

When the union has succeeded in establishing certain standards as to wages, hours and conditions, it comes to be by second intention a policeman of the industry, on the one hand preventing the employer from withdrawing, under the stress of competition, conditions which he has been compelled to grant, and on the other hand preventing the individual worker under the stress of the struggle for existence, from consenting to the lowering of conditions, accepting lower wages for example or working overtime.

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The inference is plain. The organization of the workers which even under capitalism tends to become a necessary instrument in the process of production will in the new social system be consulted.

The Nature of Paternalism

To counteract this movement on the part of our industrialists, these interested workers are coming to feel, we shall have to enlighten all the workers about his modern industrial attack on trade unions, to expose all the schemes intelligently, to show the workers how dearly they pay for the improvements offered them by their employers—in the loss of their economic, spiritual and in-

order be the instrument through which, to a very large extent at any rate, production is carried on.

The Russian Experience

When one inquires somewhat more closely however as to how the trade union is to discharge its role in industry under a new social order, we find in the Russian experience since the war some developments that are worth nothing. At the time when the New Economic Policy was under discussion, there were considerable differences of opinion among Russian leaders as to the role which unions were to fill in the Soviet State. Roughly, there were three groups of opinion. One group said that the unions are the organization of industry and are also all the state that is needed in the new social order. They are to control production, distribution and finance, and are to be the instruments of such government as is required. At the other extreme stood a group which said, "The state is now the workers' state. It must control everything and since it is a workers' state the producers need no protection against it and consequently need no unions any more."

Between the two stood a group to whom Lenin belonged and whose view prevailed. On the one hand, they denied that the unions constituted the sole form of organized society and should monopolize all economic and political functions. They held that the state must control industry. On the other hand they contended that unions were still necessary as the means through which the producers bargained for wages and working conditions with the employer, whether he be a private capitalist or a state trust, and as the means through which the worker makes his democratic contribution to the industrial process.

The Union and the Management

The union then represents the producer, the man on the job. It is accepted, welcomed, not merely tolerated. It has very wide and substantial powers. It conducts wage negotiations, largely determines the hours of labor and conditions in the shop, through it the men on the job are habitually consulted about production processes; even on questions of the credit to be allocated to a given industry the union in that industry is consulted.

But the union is not the management. It bargains with the management. The workers do not elect the boss and fire him absolutely at will, though the union is accepted and powerful and the boss cannot therefore bully the workers. Problems of technique are not settled by the committees on the one man one vote system but by experts. The management and experts represent the state, society as a whole. Discipline continues to be imposed on the worker from without. It seems to me that there are substantial grounds for thinking that some such system as this would have to prevail for some time even after a new social order was established, in other words, that we cannot now visualize a condition where industry would be efficiently operated under a town meeting system of democracy.

WHAT SHOULD BE THE ISSUES OF THE 1928 CAMPAIGN?

Clarissa A. Kneeland

(Prather, California)

The three most important issues for the American people are:

First—The taking over for public ownership and operation, of everything that is of vital importance to the public.

Second—The absolute quitting and outlawing of war, regardless of what any other nation may see fit to do.

Third—The restoring and preserving of our civil liberties, as they are guaranteed to us in our constitution.

In regard to the Volstead act, which is already on our statutes, it should be rigidly enforced, not repealed.

That it can be enforced, Gifford Pinchot, Ex-Governor of Pennsylvania and many others, are abundantly able to testify. And even as half heartedly, crazily and logically as the enforcement has been in the past, even so, the act has been a benefit to the country as a whole.

From all that I can see and hear it is my firm conviction that prohibition is not only of vast benefit to the working class (and all other classes) of today, but that it will be of priceless value to the children, who are yet to be born.

And their rights should stand first.

George L. Collins

Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation

I would give the following as the three issues to be stressed:

1. Economic imperialism.

a. Withdraw U. S. troops from China, Haiti and Nicaragua.

b. Fix the date on which the Philippines will be given independence.

c. Hands off Mexico.

2. Public ownership and democratic operation of

a. Municipal

b. Mines.

c. Railroads.

3. Civil liberty.

John H. Matheson

(Mossman, Montana)

Regarding the formulation of a program that will fit the needs of the farmer, I suggest: A standard price for what commodities he must purchase and a standard price for at least five commodities which he produces and sells. This seems to me the only sure solution of his problem and the idea appears to be very well received wherever I have presented it to farmer organizations at which I have appeared as a lecturer.

SOCIAL CONTROL

By A Middle West Parson

An imaginary council held to devise ways and means to keep the common herd under the control of the owning class.

SUPPORTED BY
Ross' "Social Control" which states in the language of philosophy and supports by ample data every idea (and much more) to be found in this poetic resume.

PERSONAE

The Capitalist.

The Lawyer.

The Editor.

The Teacher.

The Politician.

The Labor Spy.

The Policeman.

The Parson.

SOCIAL CONTROL Dramatized.

The characters are to be dressed to fit their parts.

The Capitalist in rich attire.

The Lawyer in the old fashioned Court costume, powdered wig etc.

The Editor with large pen and eye shade and glasses.

The Teacher with gown and cap as worn on University fete days.

The Politician with flashing parade of dress suit.

The Labor Spy with display of union button.

The Policeman in exaggerated uniform.

The Parson in the roles of the clergy.

Let the scene be one in which all are grouped seated around the Capitalist who sits in center. The others in irregular order. Put the parson behind the rest, partly concealed.

Let each one come and stand before the Capitalist and speak his part, addressing him directly but with the audience in mind.

THE DIALOGUE

Capitalist. (Seated)

The herd runs wild. Your task is now

To make the mass to humbly bow

To me; to see in me their friend

While I use them for selfish end.

Now, each of you, tell me your plan;

Both what you think and how you can

Fit each his plan to serve my best

And yet each one to aid the rest.

Lawyer.

My Master! Lord of jobs and bread!

It shall be done as you have said.

My part shall be to use the law.

To keep the common herd in awe.

I'll make the Law seem true and just;

Quote ancient rules. The people must

Be made to feel the Law gives all

An equal chance. For this they'll fall.

Editor.